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(no date) 1907

Jívaro

For cooking, they do not ordinarily use salt, not by preference, but because of the rarity of this product in the upper Amazon. Geophagy, which is very widespread, is without doubt related to this lack of salt. The natives ordinarily eat small balls of saltpetrous earth, but they occasionally make use of pieces of pottery (1). This custom is common to a great many tribes of the eastern regions, living under the same conditions. The little Indians of the Napo carefully hide little balls of clay between their toes, to regale themselves unknown to the missionary.

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1. This detail is noted in the report of the expedition made in 1785 by Vallano and Cuesta into the Jibaro country of Zamora, of which I will speak later. The Corregidor, having broken a piece of pottery in the house of a Jíbaro, was surprised to see the Indians present divide up the pieces and crunch them with manifest pleasure. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, note on page 22).

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poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

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of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main kinds of gathered foods.

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*nuukintü*, *čaraŋčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampaŋ*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirušă* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyaŋü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntă*) also are collected.

The various species of palms are the most important source of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kiŋak*, *kuakaš*, *ampakai*, *tirintă*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the *ampakai*, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and *kumaí*) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*tuŋusï*, *tučinč*, *ipü*, *waŋat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete.

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept.

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, especially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to

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773 and encountered a woman washing off sweet potatoes, taro [?], manioc, and peanuts. This woman was Nuŋuí. There were many Nuŋuí there. The people asked that these Nuŋuí give them food because they lacked food and fire. One Nuŋuí had a fat little female baby. She said, "Take this little baby. It is of manioc." But she also said, "Don't beat my baby, or everything will disappear. And never leave her alone in the house, but always take her with you."

So the people took the baby, whose name was Čiki, back to their house. The woman of the family household told it, "Cause manioc to come here." So the baby said, "Let there be manioc." Immediately manioc filled the house. Then the woman said, "I desire a garden." The baby said, "Let there be a garden." At that moment a garden appeared with all kinds of food. Then the woman said, "Now I want a large beer brewing jar." Instantly there were many beer brewing jars. The woman then said, "I now want two of the brewing jars to be filled with beer." Immediately two of the jars were filled with manioc beer. "Now I want meat here." Then plenty of smoke-dried meat appeared. Then she said, "I want many fish." Instantly there were many fish.

These people always took the baby with them, as Nuŋuí had told them to do. As the baby grew bigger, the children of these people grew bigger also. So one day the women went to work in the garden and left the children to take care of the baby. One of the children said to the baby, "We would like to see snakes and boa constrictors." Immediately many snakes and boa constrictors arrived. Then they went away. Then a child said, "Now I want a demon [*iwančï*]." Immediately many demons came. Then one of the children said to the baby, "Why did you bring snakes and demons?", and threw ashes in the baby's eyes. The
• [261] baby began to cry. Then the other child said, "Now I want a dried monkey complete with its head [monkey heads, including the brains, are considered to be a particular delicacy]. Then many monkeys and other animals appeared, but without heads.

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one afternoon to the house of the girl and her parents, and sleeps that night in the men's end of the house. Before dawn, he leaves the house with a blowgun and goes hunting, attempting to kill a large number of birds and monkeys in order to impress the girl's parents with his competence. When he returns, he offers the game to the girl to cook and he awaits her final decision. If she has decided to marry him, she will squat down beside the suitor when she serves the cooked food and join him in eating it. From that moment on, they are considered husband and wife and will sleep together that night.

The importance of wives in producing food and beer goes far beyond the subsistence requirements of the household itself. Plural wives assure a surplus production which will make possible adequate entertainment of visitors from other households. The Jívaro place a high value on drinking beer and eating (perhaps in that order), so that one's status in a neighborhood is greatly affected by one's generosity with beer and food. No one can expect to have many friends unless he is a good host; and he cannot easily meet the requirements of good hospitality without plural wives as a labor force.

A man also prefers to have plural wives so that one will be available to accompany him when he goes hunting while the other(s) tends the household and garden. The wife who goes with him not only handles the dog and acts as the intermediary with Nuŋuí, but also assists him by carrying a machete and a basket of manioc and other provisions. Usually the preferred companion for such hunting trips is the youngest wife, who is least likely to be encumbered with children and therefore most willing to go. The wife often looks forward to hunting trips as an opportunity to have sexual intercourse in privacy, away from the rest of the household. Having sexual relations

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When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins